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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2638  
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
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PAGE 02      PARIS 25308 01 OF 04 151629Z  
TAGS: PREL, MARR, PGOV, RW, FR  
SUBJECT: DISCUSSIONS WITH THE QUAI ON RWANDA:  
ARUSHA III AND THE VISIT OF PM NSENGIYAREMYE  
TO PARIS

REF: A) KIGALI 3723 B) FULLER-PERLOW TELECON, 9-11  
C) PARIS 24435

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE; SEE PARAGRAPH 8.

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3. BEGIN SUMMARY: WE HAVE HAD TWO DISCUSSIONS WITH CATHERINE BOIVINEAU SINCE THE ARUSHA III NEGOTIATIONS REOPENED. THE FIRST WAS FOR A READOUT FOLLOWING THE FRENCH DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RPF ON SEPTEMBER 4. DURING THIS MEETING WE ALSO RAISED THE THOUGHTS OF U.S. OBSERVER RAWSON AFTER THE US-RPF TALKS (REF A). THE FRENCH-RPF TALKS WERE VERY SIMILAR IN CONTENT TO OURS (REF C) AND LEFT MANY OF THE SAME CONCERNS AT THE QUAI.

IN BOTH OUR MEETINGS, BOIVINEAU STRESSED THAT THE QUAI IS VERY CONCERNED THAT THE RPF DEMAND FOR AN EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL BODY WITH LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWERS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOR. THE FRENCH OBSERVERS AT ARUSHA PROBING TO SEE WHETHER THE RPF POSITION IS AN OPENING GAMBIT OR A NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMAND.

AFTER ITS MEETINGS WITH THE RPF, PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE AND INITIAL REPORTS FROM ARUSHA III, THE QUAI IS VERY CONCERNED THAT MUCH OF THE RPF POSITION IS  
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"ANTI-DEMOCRATIC" AND WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOR. THE CLEAR FRENCH PREFERENCE IS FOR THE RPF TO ENTER FULLY INTO RWANDA'S ONGOING POLITICAL REFORM PROCESS. APPROPRIATE COMMISSIONS CAN BE CREATED AS NECESSARY, THEY BELIEVE, TO OVERSEE ASPECTS OF THE CEASE FIRE, INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES AND RELATED MATTERS.

THE GOF GAVE PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE A HIGH PROFILE VISIT IN HOPES OF SENDING A SIGNAL TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE FRANCE ATTACHES TO THE DEMOCRATIC REFORM PROCESS. NSENGIYAREMYE MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEREGOVY, FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS AND MINISTER OF COOPERATION DEBARGE. ALTHOUGH THE NSENGIYAREMYE VISIT WAS SHORT ON SUBSTANCE, THE GOF HAS AGREED TO SEND A DELEGATION TO RWANDA IN OCTOBER FOR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT INCREASED BILATERAL AID. THE IMF WILL SEND A TEAM TO RWANDA IN MARCH 1993. END SUMMARY.

FRENCH DISCUSSIONS WITH THE RPF  
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4. WE MET ON SEPTEMBER 8 WITH THE QUAI'S DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, TO

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EXCHANGE NOTES ON THE DISCUSSIONS (RESPECTIVELY  
SEPTEMBER 3 AND 4) WITH THE RPF DELEGATION HEADED BY  
COL. KANYARENGWE. WE BRIEFED BOIVINEAU ALONG THE LINES  
OF REF C AND ADDED THE SUBSEQUENT PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS  
PROVIDED BY THE U.S. OBSERVER TO THE ARUSHA TALKS,  
DAVID RAWSON (REF A).

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5. NOT SURPRISINGLY, BOIVINEAU'S READOUT ON THE RPF  
COVERED MANY OF THE SAME POINTS AS OUR OWN. BOIVINEAU  
NOTED THAT SHE AND THE OTHER GOF INTERLOCUTORS, WERE  
STRUCK BY KANYARENGWE'S INSISTENCE ON SEVERAL POINTS:

-- THE QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES REMAINS AT

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THE TOP OF KANYARENGWE'S LIST OF KEY ISSUES. ALTHOUGH HE INDICATED OPENESS ON THE QUESTION OF CREATING EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL BODIES TO DEAL WITH A WIDE VARIETY OF POLITICAL QUESTIONS, KANYARENGWE DID NOT ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT SUCH BODIES COULD BE USED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES. BOIVINEAU ADDED THAT THE QUAI IS NOT SURE IF THIS IS SIMPLY HIS OPENING POSITION OR HIS BOTTOM LINE. (NOTE: ON SEPTEMBER 14 BOIVINEAU REPEATED THIS OBSERVATION AND ADDED THAT THE FRENCH OBSERVERS ARE TRYING TO PROBE THE RPF DELEGATION AT ARUSHA TO GET A CLEARER PICTURE. END NOTE.)

6. ON THE KANYARENGWE'S PROPOSAL TO ENHANCE LOCAL POWERS IN RWANDA, BOIVINEAU STATED THAT THE QUAI BELIEVES SOME DEGREE OF DECENTRALIZATION HAS TAKEN PLACE UNDER THE COALITION GOVERNMENT. SHE ASSUMED THAT KANYARENGWE'S CALL FOR NEW COMMUNAL ELECTIONS AND NEW INSTITUTIONS CAN BE NEGOTIATED.

THE GOMN

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7. BOIVINEAU CONFIRMED THAT MALI HAS AGREED TO SERVE AS THE FOURTH MEMBER OF THE MILITARY OBSERVERS GROUP (GOMN). SHE NOTED THAT THE QUAI HAS NO REAL IDEA OF WHEN MALIAN FORCES WILL ARRIVE, BUT, GIVEN THE RECORD  
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OF THE OTHER OAU MEMBERS, SHE SUSPECTED THAT IT WILL BE A WHILE.

8. FOR STATE: PER REQUEST IN REF C, WE ASKED FOR CONFIRMATION THAT THE GOF HAD AGREED TO PROVIDE COMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT FOR THE GOMN. BOIVINEAU REPLIED POSITIVELY. HOWEVER, SHE ASKED IF THE U.S. FUNDS COULD BE USED IMMEDIATELY TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS OF PER DIEM PAYMENTS, LODGING AND SUPPLIES FOR THE GOMN. PLEASE ADVISE ASAP.

PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO THE RPF DELEGATION AT ARUSHA  
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9. WE AGAIN RAISED WITH BOIVINEAU THE RPF REQUEST THAT THE GOF OR THE US PROVIDE AIRPLANE TICKETS AND PER DIEM COSTS TO ITS DELEGATION AT ARUSHA, NOTING THAT A FRENCH CONTRIBUTION PERHAPS COULD EASE SOME OF THE RPF SUSPICIONS ABOUT FRENCH IMPARTIALITY. HER RESPONSE WAS THE SAME -- IF THE RPF CAN AFFORD TO LAUNCH A MILITARY OFFENSIVE AND SEND DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, THEN IT CAN PAY FOR A DELEGATION AT THE PEACE TALKS. AS FOR THE RPF ALLEGATION THAT THE FRENCH PURCHASED AIR TICKETS FOR A GOR DELEGATION TO COME TO PARIS LAST YEAR (I.E. FOR THE EARLIER ROUND OF PEACE TALKS), BOIVINEAU RESPONDED THAT THE GOF PICKED-UP THE HOTEL BILL FOR THE RPF REPEAT RPF DELEGATION. THAT EXPENDITURE CREATED SUCH A BUREAUCRATIC HEADACHE FOR THE QUAI'S AFRICA BUREAU THAT IT IS UNWILLING TO CONSIDER THE MATTER AGAIN. BOIVINEAU CONCLUDED THAT WERE ASSISTANCE PROVIDED TO EITHER SIDE, IT WOULD INEVITABLY BECOME KNOWN AND  
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CREATE REQUESTS FOR SIMILAR TREATMENT BY THE OTHER.

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FRENCH VIEWS ON THE TALKS  
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10. DURING OUR SEPTEMBER 14 MEETING, BOIVINEAU ALSO

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RELATED HER CONCERN THAT THE U.S. PROPOSAL ON AN EXPANDED ROLE FOR THE JPMC IS MISUNDERSTOOD BY THE GOR DELEGATION. THE FRENCH OBSERVERS AT ARUSHA BELIEVE THE U.S. IDEA IS SEEN BY RWANDA AS TOO CLOSE TO THE RPF PROPOSAL. IN THE QUAI'S VIEW, THE GOR HAS GOTTEN THE IMPRESSION THAT THE U.S. SUPPORTS THE RPF PROPOSAL.

11. THE QUAI SEES ELEMENTS OF THE RPF POSITION AS BEING "ANTI-DEMOCRATIC" IN NATURE. AS AN EXAMPLE, BOIVINEAU NOTED ON A PERSONAL BASIS, THE RPF IDEA OF DELAYING ELECTIONS FOR SEVERAL YEARS DOES NOT SEEM THE BEST WAY TO ASSURE A TRANSITION TO A FULL DEMOCRACY. SHE ALSO NOTED THAT THE IDEA PUT FORWARD BY KANYARENGWE OF CREATING A NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE MODELED ON THE 1973 COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND NATIONAL UNITY -- WHICH EVENTUALLY RESULTED IN ONE PARTY RULE -- IS UNLIKELY TO WIN MUCH SUPPORT AMONG THE INTERNAL OPPOSITION PARTIES. ACCORDING TO THE QUAI'S INFORMATION, THE GOR IS PREPARED TO INCLUDE THE RPF IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE ONGOING REFORM PROGRAM AND TO AGREE TO THE CREATION OF EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEES -- BUT IT WILL NOT ALTER THE CONSTITUTION.

12. WE NOTED THAT THE U.S. PROPOSAL IS BASED ON OUR EXPERIENCES IN ANGOLA. IT IS INTENDED TO SERVE AS A BASIS OF DISCUSSION AND WE BELIEVE IT COULD BE ADAPTED

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FOR USE IN RWANDA. THE U.S. IS NOT WED TO ANY SINGLE SOLUTION AND WE CERTAINLY ARE NOT TILTING TOWARDS THE

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RPF. OUR PROPOSAL IS INTENDED TO FINESSE SOME OF THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECTS OF ARUSHA III AND MOVE THE TWO SIDES TOWARDS A SOLUTION. BOIVINEAU RESPONDED THAT IN THE END, THE GOF WOULD SUPPORT ANY AGREEMENT THE TWO SIDES FOUND ACCEPTABLE. HOWEVER, PARIS IS CONCERNED THAT A SETTLEMENT THAT DISRUPTS THE ONGOING REFORM PROCESS COULD RESULT IN RENEWED CONFRONTATION DOWN THE ROAD. SUCH A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE GOF TO SWALLOW.

VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE TO PARIS  
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13. THE VISIT OF THE PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE TO PARIS ON SEPTEMBER 10-11, WAS GIVEN A MUCH HIGHER PROFILE BY THE GOF DUE TO THE FRAGILITY OF THE SITUATION IN RWANDA. THE GOF DECIDED TO SEND A SIGNAL TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ON THE IMPORTANCE FRANCE PLACES IN THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES. NSENGIYAREMYE MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEREGOVY, FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS AND COOPERATION MINISTER DEBARGE.

ARUSHA III  
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14. SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER HAS NOT PLAYED A KEY ROLE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, VERY LITTLE TIME WAS SPENT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS, BEYOND THE FEW POINTS NOTED ABOVE.

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HOWEVER, THE FRENCH STRESSED THE NEED FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND ASKED THAT NSENGIYAREMYE USE HIS INFLUENCE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTY TO PRESS FOR FLEXIBILITY AND RECONCILIATION.

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15. NSENGIYAREMYE POINTED TO THE COSTS AND DISLOCATIONS CAUSED BY THE WAR WITH THE RPF AS THE REASONS WHY THE GOR HAS FALLEN BEHIND IN ITS IMF OBLIGATIONS. AT THE GOR'S REQUEST, THE IMF WILL SEND A TEAM TO RWANDA BUT IT WILL NOT ARRIVE UNTIL MARCH 1993. NSENGIYAREMYE ASKED FOR FRENCH BILATERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE MEANTIME TO KEEP THE GOR FROM FALLING INTO VIOLATION OF ITS RESCHEDULING AGREEMENT. THE GOF DID NOT MAKE ANY COMMITMENTS BUT AGREED TO SEND A DELEGATION IN OCTOBER TO KIGALI FOR EXPLORATORY TALKS.

AID TO REFUGEES  
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16. THE PRIME MINISTER ALSO ASKED FOR BILATERAL ASSISTANCE FOR AN ESTIMATED 350,000 REFUGEES CREATED BY THE WAR. COOPERATION MINISTER DEBARGE GAVE A FAVORABLE REPLY BUT DID NOT COMMIT ANY FUNDS. BOIVINEAU NOTED ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT DEBARGE HAS MADE THIS SORT OF VAGUE COMMITMENT BEFORE FOR REFUGEES AND LITTLE HAS COME OF IT. SHE EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM THAT MUCH WOULD BE DONE BY DEBARGE THIS TIME EITHER DUE TO FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS.

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